



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

Brett G. Kappel, Esq.  
Arent Fox LLP  
1050 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20036

**MAY 27 2014**

RE: MUR 6481  
Ron Paul 2012 Presidential  
Campaign Committee, Inc.

Dear Mr. Kappel:

On July 14, 2011, the Federal Election Commission notified your client, Ron Paul 2012 Presidential Campaign Committee, Inc. (the "Committee"), of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended.

Upon further review of the allegations contained in the complaint, and the information provided by your client, on May 20, 2014, the Commission found that there is no reason to believe that the Committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a) and dismissed the allegation that your client violated 2 U.S.C. § 441e and 11 C.F.R. § 110.20. Accordingly, on May 20, 2014, the Commission closed the file in this matter.

Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. See Statement of Policy Regarding Disclosure of Closed Enforcement and Related Files, 68 Fed. Reg. 70,426 (Dec. 18, 2003) and Statement of Policy Regarding Placing First General Counsel's Reports on the Public Record, 74 Fed. Reg. 66132 (Dec. 14, 2009). The Factual and Legal Analysis, which more fully explains the Commission's decision, is enclosed for you information.

If you have any questions, please contact Shana M. Broussard, the attorney assigned to this matter at (202) 694-1650.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "William A. Powers".

William A. Powers  
Assistant General Counsel

Enclosure  
Factual and Legal Analysis

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**FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

**FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS**

**RESPONDENTS:** Ron Paul 2012 Presidential Campaign      **MUR 6481**  
Committee, Inc. and Lori Pyeatt in her  
official capacity as treasurer

**I. GENERATION OF MATTER**

This matter was generated by a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission ("the Commission") by America's Survival Inc. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1).

**II. INTRODUCTION**

Complainant America's Survival Inc. alleges that RTTV America, Inc. ("RTTV") is a foreign corporation that produces and broadcasts cable television content. The Complaint alleges that RTTV violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, (the "Act") when it produced an episode of *Adam vs. The Man* (the "Show") that promoted and solicited campaign funds for then-presidential candidate Ron Paul. The Complaint concludes that RTTV therefore made a prohibited contribution or an expenditure on behalf of the Ron Paul 2012 Presidential Campaign Committee, Inc. and Lori Pyeatt in her official capacity as its treasurer (the "Committee").

The Committee denies the allegations. The Committee contends that RTTV's production of the Show is neither a "contribution" nor an "expenditure" because RTTV is a press entity, and the allegations relate to activity within its legitimate press function.

The available information here indicates that RTTV co-produced the Show by providing studio space, technical assistance, and equipment, and that RTTV acted within its legitimate press function in so doing. As such, the Commission concludes that RTTV's assistance in connection with the Show, whether financial or in-kind, would not constitute a contribution

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1 under the press exemption. The Commission therefore finds no reason to believe that the  
2 Committee accepted a prohibited in-kind corporate contribution in violation of 2 U.S.C.  
3 § 441b(a). Moreover, despite the apparent contractual relationship between RTTV and a  
4 broadcasting entity associated with a foreign government, records before the Commission —  
5 including sworn affidavits and official government incorporation records — reflect that RTTV  
6 itself is a domestic corporation and wholly owned by a United States citizen. The Commission  
7 therefore exercises its prosecutorial discretion and dismisses the allegation that the Committee  
8 violated 2 U.S.C. § 441e and 11 C.F.R. § 110.20.

### 9 **III. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS**

#### 10 **A. Factual Background**

11 Adam Kokesh is the host of the Show. Kokesh launched the Show in 2010 as a talk radio  
12 program based in Albuquerque, NM. Committee Resp. at 1 (Sept. 2, 2011). In February 2011,  
13 Kokesh incorporated Adam vs. The Man, LLC as a New Mexico limited liability company.  
14 RTTV Resp. at 2. Soon after its incorporation, Adam vs. The Man, LLC entered into an  
15 “independent contractor relationship with RTTV” to co-produce the Show on television. RTTV  
16 Resp. at 2; Alex Yazlovsky Aff. ¶ 8 (Aug. 11, 2011) (“Yazlovsky Aff.”).

17 The Complaint alleges that RTTV, which it describes as a registered foreign corporation  
18 “funded by the government of Russia,” provided air time for Kokesh, an “employee” of RTTV,  
19 to promote and raise funds for the presidential campaign of Ron Paul during a June 6, 2011  
20 episode of the Show. Compl. at 1. The Complaint contends that Kokesh’s remarks during that  
21 episode extended beyond news reporting to endorsing and fundraising for a federal candidate.  
22 *See id.* at 1-2. The Complaint provided a portion of the episode’s transcript during which  
23 Kokesh allegedly solicited contributions for Ron Paul:

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I'd like to end tonight on a note of some good news. We have some good news from the front lines of the Ron Paul "LOVEalution" with our money bomb on June 5. I was happy to donate to that. Yesterday we raised over 1 million dollars for the Ron Paul campaign. And I'm starting to figure out what electable means, because electable or non-electable is really a code word for "if this person wins, I'm not gonna be able to get as much money from the government." But if you want electable, please support the reelection campaign of President Barack Obama. If you want a President whose *[sic]* going to honor his oath to the Constitution and your freedom, I urge you to support none other than Congressman Ron Paul.

Compl. at 2. The Complaint asserts that Kokesh's solicitation for Paul constitutes "a political contribution consisting of valuable air time, provided by a foreign corporation, and airing in the U.S." *Id.* at 2.<sup>1</sup>

RTTV is incorporated and registered to conduct business in the District of Columbia. *See* RTTV Resp. at 2, Attach. A (D.C. Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs listing for RTTV). It is a privately held company wholly owned by Alex Yazlovsky. Dun & Bradstreet, <http://www.dnb.com> (D&B Business Information Report, RTTV America, Inc. (received Sept. 23, 2011)). Alex Yazlovsky is a United States citizen. *See* RTTV Supp. Resp. (Mar. 30, 2012). RTTV asserts that it "creates and provides television content for an internationally-focused, English language television network that airs in markets across the United States." RTTV Resp. at 2; Yazlovsky Aff. ¶ 5. Along with the Show, RTTV also produces daily news and editorial programs, such as *The Big Picture with Thom Hartmann* and *The Alonya Show*. RTTV Resp. at 2.

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<sup>1</sup> Although the Complaint relies only on the June 6, 2011 episode in which Kokesh endorsed Ron Paul's candidacy, Kokesh expressed his support for Ron Paul and made solicitations in connection with Paul's candidacy in other episodes of the Show as well. *See, e.g.,* <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=faZpekej3M0> (Apr. 26, 2011); <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RF1PMPht0WA&feature=cndscreen&NR=1> (May 4, 2011); <http://rt.com/programs/adam-vs-man/income-tax-ron-paul/> (Apr. 5, 2011); <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r8toAwZAS00> (July 21, 2011); <http://rt.com/programs/adam-vs-man/default-markdice-pac-anonymous/> (July 21, 2011). Nonetheless, most of the episodes of the Show that were broadcast during its five-month run on Russia Today focus on topics other than Ron Paul's presidential campaign.

1 The Show aired weeknights on Russia Today from April to August 2011.<sup>2</sup> It featured 30  
2 minutes of news and editorial commentary by Kokesh and included guest interviews of federal  
3 and state candidates, officeholders, authors, and others. See RTTV Resp. at 3. According to  
4 RTTV, its role as co-producer of the Show differed in significant respects from those of Adam  
5 vs. The Man, LLC. RTTV Resp. at 2. RTTV provided studio space for the live taping of  
6 episodes of the Show and other equipment and technical services to Adam vs. The Man, LLC.  
7 See RTTV Supp. Resp.; RTTV Resp. at 2. But RTTV "did not control any decisions related to  
8 the content of the *Adam vs. The Man Show* May 4, 2011 and June 6, 2011 episodes, or any other  
9 episode." Rather, "Adam vs. The Man, LLC had full editorial control" over the Show. RTTV  
10 Supp. Resp.; see RTTV Resp. at 2; Yazlovsky Aff. ¶ 9.<sup>3</sup>

11 **B. Legal Analysis**

12 1. There is No Reason to Believe that the Committee Accepted Corporate  
13 Contributions  
14

15 The Act prohibits corporations from making contributions from their general treasury  
16 funds in connection with a federal election. See 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a). The Act also prohibits any  
17 candidate, political committee, or other person from knowingly accepting a corporate  
18 contribution. See *id.* The Act and Commission regulations define the terms "contribution" and

<sup>2</sup> The Show aired on "the [Russia Today] channel," which purchased the rights to broadcast the Show. RTTV Resp. at 3-4. Founded in part by RIA Novosti, a Russian Federation state-run and reportedly state-financed media outlet, Russia Today consists of three global news channels broadcasting in English, Spanish, and Arabic. See <http://en.rian.ru/docs/about/novosti.html>; [http://en.rian.ru/agency\\_news/20120206/171179459.html](http://en.rian.ru/agency_news/20120206/171179459.html) (last visited May 7, 2014); <http://rt.com/about-us/> (last visited May 7, 2014). Russia Today broadcasts from its Washington, D.C. studio. See <http://rt.com/about-us/>; Compl. at 2. RTTV represents through counsel that there was a 30-minute delay between Russia Today's receipt of the live production version of each episode of the Show and that episode's broadcast on Russia Today, and that Russia Today "never edited the content of an episode of the Show prior to its airing." E-mail from Gary C. Adler, Esq., to FEC (Apr. 26, 2012, 09:51 EST).

<sup>3</sup> Likewise, during an April 2011 interview that aired before the Show was broadcast, Kokesh asserted that he would have full editorial control over the content of the Show. REALITY REPORT, *Adam Kokesh Joins Russia Today* (Apr. 4, 2011) ("I'm really excited that I've got the confidence of the network here for this show. They're going to be giving me full editorial control and you know if that's compromised, you're gonna know. That's a promise."), <http://arelive.org/details/RealityReport-AdamKokeshJoinsRussiaToday985>.

1 “expenditure” to include any gift of money or “anything of value” for the purpose of influencing  
2 a federal election. *Id.* § 431(8)(A), (9)(A); 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.52(a), 100.111(a). The term  
3 “anything of value” includes in-kind contributions. 11 C.F.R. § 100.52(d)(1). The Act and  
4 Commission regulations require political committees to report all contributions received,  
5 whether monetary or in-kind, during a given reporting period. *See* 2 U.S.C. § 434(b); 11 C.F.R.  
6 § 104.3.

7 Under the “press exemption,” however, the Act and Commission regulations exclude  
8 “any cost[s] incurred in covering or carrying a news story, commentary, or editorial by any  
9 broadcasting station (including a cable television operator, programmer or producer)” from the  
10 definition of a contribution, “unless the facility is owned or controlled by any political party,  
11 political committee, or candidate.” 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.73, 100.132; *see* 2 U.S.C. § 431(9)(B)(i).  
12 The Commission has developed a two-part test for applying the exemption. First, the entity  
13 engaging in the activity must be a press or media entity, in that its focus is the production, on a  
14 regular basis, of a program that disseminates news stories, commentary, or editorials. *See, e.g.,*  
15 Advisory Op. 2007-20 (XM Radio) (“AO 2007-20”); Advisory Op. 2005-19 (The Inside Track)  
16 (“AO 2005-19”); Advisory Op. 2005-16 (Fired Up!) (“AO 2005-16”).<sup>4</sup> Second, the Commission  
17 considers (i) whether the press entity is owned or controlled by a political party, political  
18 committee, or candidate and, if not, (ii) whether the press entity is acting as a press entity in  
19 conducting the activity at issue (*i.e.*, whether it is acting in its “legitimate press function”). *See*

<sup>4</sup> With regard to the first inquiry, it is irrelevant whether a news story, commentary, or editorial lacks objectivity, expressly advocates the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate for federal office, or solicits contributions on behalf of the candidate, so long as the solicitation does not become a regular feature of the story, commentary, or editorial. *See* Advisory Op. 2008-14 (Melothe Inc.) at 5-7 (“AO 2008-14”) (citing AO 2005-16 (citing First Gen. Counsel’s Rpt., MUR 5440 (CBS Broadcasting, Inc.))); AO 2005-19 (citing same).

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1 *Reader's Digest Ass'n v. FEC*, 509 F. Supp. 1210, 1215 (S.D.N.Y. 1981); *FEC v. Phillips*  
2 *Publ'g*, 517 F. Supp. 1308, 1312-13 (D.D.C. 1981).

3 The Commission concludes that the activities of RTTV at issue here are covered by the  
4 press exemption. First, since 2005, RTTV has produced television content for daily news  
5 programs and talk shows, such as the Show, *The Big Picture with Thom Hartmann*, and *The*  
6 *Alonya Show*, which focus on news, commentary, and editorials. See RTTV Resp. at 2, 5.  
7 RTTV states that “[s]ome of the programming is objective dissemination of daily news, while  
8 other programs include subjective commentary or editorials.” See *id.* Consequently, the  
9 available information reflects that RTTV is a press entity. See AO 2007-20; AO 2005-19.

10 Second, the record reflects that RTTV is not owned or controlled by a political party,  
11 political committee, or candidate, see RTTV Resp. at 5, and in its capacity as co-producer of the  
12 Show it was acting within its legitimate press functions. See *FEC v. Mass. Citizens for Life*, 479  
13 U.S. 238, 251 (1986) (“*MCFL*”); see also Advisory Op. 2011-11 (Colbert) (“AO 2011-11”).<sup>5</sup>  
14 Episodes of the Show aired on weeknights, were publicly available on cable and satellite  
15 television, and were available at no charge on the Show’s website. The format of those episodes  
16 of the Show during which Kokesh promoted Paul’s candidacy are consistent with other episodes  
17 that covered a wide range of traditionally newsworthy topics, including the economy, taxes, drug  
18 policy, the Wiki Leaks affair, unions, military matters, history, law enforcement, foreign policy,

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<sup>5</sup> In *MCFL*, the Supreme Court held that a “Special Edition” newsletter did not qualify for the press exemption because the newsletter — which exhorted voters to vote “pro-life,” had been prepared by a staff that had prepared no regular newsletter, and was distributed to a much larger audience than that of the regular newsletter — differed in certain “considerations of form” from the press entity’s regular newsletter. 479 U.S. at 250-51. In AO 2011-11, the Commission considered whether Viacom, in providing news coverage of a newly formed political committee and its activities on *The Colbert Report*, was acting within its legitimate press function by assessing (1) whether the press entity’s materials were available to the general public and (2) whether the materials were comparable in form to those ordinarily issued by the press entity. AO 2011-11; see also AO 2005-16 (citing *MCFL*, 479 U.S. at 251); Advisory Op. 2000-13 (iNEXTV) (concluding that a website was “viewable by the general public and akin to a periodical or news program distributed to the general public”).

1 and politics generally. And although Kokesh expressly advocated Paul's election and solicited  
2 contributions on the Show, the speaker's viewpoint is irrelevant to the application of the press  
3 exemption. *See* AO 2007-20; AO 2005-19; AO 2005-16.<sup>6</sup>

4 Because RTTV is a press entity entitled to the press exemption in connection with its co-  
5 production of the Show, Kokesh's endorsements of Paul during episodes of the Show do not  
6 constitute a contribution from RTTV. The Commission therefore finds no reason to believe that  
7 the Committee violated 2 U.S.C. § 441b(a).

8 2. The Commission Dismisses the Allegation that the Committee Violated  
9 the Act's Foreign National Prohibition

10 The Act and Commission regulations prohibit a foreign national from directly or  
11 indirectly making a contribution or donation of money in connection with a federal, state, or  
12 local election. 2 U.S.C. § 441e(a)(1)(A); 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(b). A foreign national also may not  
13 directly or indirectly make an expenditure, an independent expenditure, or a disbursement in  
14 connection with a federal, state, or local election. 2 U.S.C. § 441e(a)(1)(C); 11 C.F.R.  
15 § 110.20(f). Moreover, foreign nationals "shall not direct, dictate, control, or directly or  
16 indirectly participate in the decision-making process of any person, such as a corporation,  
17 . . . with regard to such person's Federal or non-Federal election-related activities, such as  
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<sup>6</sup> The Commission has previously determined that press entities do not necessarily forfeit the press exemption by soliciting contributions for candidates. A solicitation for contributions may appear in a commentary that is a regular feature of a press entity's content, provided that the solicitations do not become a regular feature of its content. *See* Advisory Op. 1980-109 (Ruff Times) ("AO 1980-109"); AO 2008-14 (analyzing AO 1980-109). Kokesh here expressly advocated the election of Ron Paul, referred to Paul fundraisers, and solicited contributions during various episodes of the Show. Nevertheless, each of Kokesh's references to Paul was a part of his regular commentary, and because most of the episodes of the Show do not involve Paul at all, his occasional solicitations did not become a regular feature of the program under the Commission's precedent. *See* AO 1980-109.



1 decisions concerning the making of contributions, donations, expenditures, or disbursements in  
2 connection with elections for any Federal, State, or local office.” 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(i).<sup>7</sup>

3 For purposes of the Act, a “foreign national” is a person who is not a citizen, national, or  
4 lawfully admitted permanent resident of the United States. 2 U.S.C. § 441e(b)(2). The term also  
5 encompasses “foreign principals,” including the government of a foreign country or a foreign  
6 political party, and can also include “a partnership, association, corporation, organization, or  
7 other combination of persons organized under the laws of or having its principal place of  
8 business in a foreign country.” *Id.* § 441e(b)(1) (citing 22 U.S.C. § 611(b)).

9 Official government records reflect that RTTV is a domestic corporation incorporated  
10 and registered to conduct business in the District of Columbia. *See* RTTV Resp., Attach. A  
11 (D.C. Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs listing for RTTV). The Show aired on  
12 “the [Russia Today] channel,” which purchased the rights to broadcast the Show, *id.* at 3-4, but  
13 RTTV itself is “an independent U.S. corporation and is not a subsidiary of, or affiliated with, any  
14 foreign-owned corporation.” RTTV Resp. at 4; Yazlovsky Aff. ¶ 4. Moreover, the sole owner  
15 of RTTV, Yazlovsky, is a United States citizen. *See* RTTV Supp. Resp.

16 Although neither RTTV nor Yazlovsky appear to be foreign nationals under the Act, the  
17 Responses do not specifically address the nature of RTTV’s contractual relationship with Russia  
18 Today to broadcast the Show. Nevertheless, the circumstances here — including the available  
19 information suggesting that Kokesh and Adam vs. the Man, LLC alone were responsible for all  
20 editorial decisions relating to the content of the Show generally and Kokesh’s promotion of a  
21 federal candidate in particular — do not warrant expending further Commission resources to

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<sup>7</sup> The Act and Commission regulations further provide that no person shall knowingly solicit, accept, or receive from a foreign national any contribution or donation prohibited by the Act. *See* 2 U.S.C. § 441e(a)(2); 11 C.F.R. § 110.20(g).

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- 1 conduct additional administrative fact-finding proceedings in this matter. The Commission
- 2 therefore dismisses in the exercise of its prosecutorial discretion the allegation that the
- 3 Committee violated the foreign national prohibitions of the Act and Commission regulations.
- 4 *See Heckler v. Chaney*, 470 U.S. 821 (1985).

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